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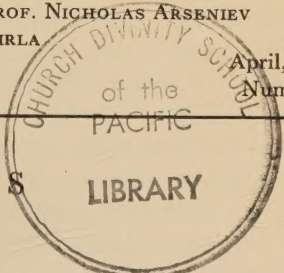
V. REV. ALEXANDER SCHEMANN

PROF. NICHOLAS ARSENIYEV

REV. WILLIAM SCHNEIRLA

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Editorial and Subscription Offices

537 West 121st Street, New York 27, New York
Tel: MOument 6-0065

LEONARD KIRVIDA, *Managing Editor*

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On Orthodox Education

REV. VASSILY ZENKOVSKY

MANY PEOPLE may be surprised at the very idea of an "Orthodox" theory of religious education. Does each Christian faith have its own particular system of education? Even the general concept of "Christian Education" (i.e. a philosophy of education common to all denominations) needs to be explained. For one may ask whether we could not apply the contemporary theories of education that are based on modern psychology, psychopathology, etc. to our needs. What can Christianity contribute in this sphere? Of course, if by "Christian Education" one means the communication of specifically religious knowledge, then one must take confessional particularities into consideration. But then we will no longer be dealing with a special "Orthodox theory of education", but simply with methods of teaching basic religious subjects within the boundaries of a particular confession.

But here we are not discussing "religious education" in the narrow sense of the word, i.e., the methods of teaching Orthodox religion. The very idea of "Orthodox pedagogics" necessarily implies a philosophy of education which attempts to relate all the problems of education with the conception of man and the world which we find in Orthodoxy. This problem is all the more timely since it is now generally affirmed that all modern culture is *very closely united to secularism*, that is, with the deliberate breaking away of culture from the Church. This secularism was the result of the spiritual crisis which Western Europe experienced during the Middle Ages. Although Eastern Christianity was only slightly affected by this crisis, unfortunately the Orthodox people, laying aside all the wealth of thought and creativeness which is preserved in Orthodoxy, succumbed to the temptations of the culture that had grown up on a secular basis. European philosophy of education, beginning with Komensky and Pestalozzi developed in a spirit of secularism, and this left its mark on theories of religious education in general. However, the time has come when one must approach the problems of education from a Christian point of view. We Orthodox, are keenly aware of the secret poisons of secularism which distorts the formulation and solution of these problems. It is impossible of course to isolate the theme of religious education, i.e., to treat it *outside the general theme of Orthodox culture*, but this complicates as well as simplifies our task.

To clarify what we mean by a specifically Christian approach to the problems of education, we must first mention two fundamental particularities

in the Christian concept of man. The key to the Christian understanding of man lies in the basic concept of *the image of God in man*. This means nothing to contemporary anthropologists and especially psychologists, who look upon such an understanding as a pious but groundless rhetorical expression. However, only in the light of understanding man as the image of God can one fully realize the *man's spiritual life is the foundation of his personality*. This in no way excludes either what lies in the conscious sphere of the human soul (his perceptions, feeling, etc.) or in the subconscious sphere (where passions develop and complexes accumulate). All this is real and essential, yet the key to man's soul does not lie in his conscious or subconscious feelings but in that which he loves, in his aspirations, or in other words, in the very depth of his spiritual being. For there — in that very depth — the struggle between good and evil is continually carried on; there, our freedom manifests itself in its decisions, or in its refusal to make decisions. The image of God pours a light into our soul which illumines this depth, while the inherent sinfulness of man due to original sin distorts the pure motivations of the soul. Man's structure is essentially moral! But he cannot escape the issue of good and evil and the internal struggle between these two; thus requires illumination and guidance from above.

Many things in the souls of adults and adolescents become clearer to us in the light of *the Cross*, which is inscribed in, and is particular to every individual. "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up *his cross* and follow me" (*Math. 12:24*). And this is the second, specifically Christian understanding which is the key to man's individuality or to his fate, and which is the paramount importance for the instruction of children in the light of Christ".

Yes, it is certainly true that modern psychology is far from the concept of man which is found in Christianity. Occasionally a scientific analysis *approaches* Christian anthropology (for example, the interesting teaching of the psychiatrist Kunkel, who maintains that all spiritual disturbances are a result of man's departure from that "ideal image"—Idealbid—which is "inscribed" in each personality). But generally, contemporary psychology alienates us rather than brings us closer to the Christian concept of man.

But here we must make one very important reservation: the concept of man is not the same in different Christian denominations. This is precisely why we must define the *Orthodox* understanding. For it is a fact that classical Protestantism, in carrying the teachings of St. Augustine to an extreme, believes that as a result of original sin, the image of God in man, is lost. And although it is true that modern Protestant theologians speak of some "remnant" of God's image in man, this would make it seem that the image of God were something material. In contrast to this understanding, Orthodoxy

strongly affirms the reality of God's image in man, and the eternal presence of its light-bearing power. Catholicism also affirms this, but it has some peculiar idea that man was already fallible when created since he already had a body which was the cause of his fall. Orthodoxy rejects this understanding, and bases its teaching on the words of St. Paul who says that our body is the *temple of the Holy Spirit* (I Cor. 6:19); it sees the cause of evil action and sin to be not in the body, but in *man's spiritual condition*. When the human spirit is the slave of passions, the wrong lies not in the passions themselves, but in our yielding to them. *Orthodoxy has faith in the soul of man*, and this is not a naive trust, but rather a conscious conviction that all our ills are a result of our spiritual condition. For this reason the forming of personality consists first of all, in developing and strengthening the spiritual life of a young person. Hence a basic principle of the Orthodox philosophy of religious education: not from outer experience to the inner soul, but from the inner soul to outer experience. One has only to see how the problem of religious education is treated for example in Montessori's famous work, to realize the incompatibility of its approach with truly religious presuppositions. To the Orthodox understanding, her pedagogical "sensualism", the attempt to reach spiritual depth through outer experience, is a categorical rejection of the Christian concept of man. However, if our first task is to help the children in developing and organizing their *spiritual life*, this by no means excludes or denies the importance of religious *knowledge*. We must remember that the rejection of *pedagogical intellectualism* (i.e., of the excessive emphasis on the development of the intellect) does not justify the relegation of the mind to a place of minor importance in the formation of personality. If our intellectual life is to be creative and productive, it *must be closely tied up with our spiritual life*. And here nothing can replace the Church and the impact of its grace on the soul. One of the main themes in the Orthodox theory of religious education consists precisely in relating our educational influence with the Church. This does not necessarily mean an external tie between educational work and the Church, although this of course would be very desirable, but rather an overcoming of the very spirit of secularism. On the other hand, this does not mean any alienation of children from the modern world. One need not imitate Rousseau who made his Emile live outside society during his childhood, for one cannot and should not isolate children from contemporary life. And it is here that we clearly realize the necessity of an Orthodox culture, which is not simply a combination of inner religiosity with secularized actuality, but a *transformation of the modern world* in the spirit of Orthodoxy. Difficult as this task may be, it is of primary importance for educational work.

We can but mention the names of two remarkable Russian educators, who

were the first to experiment along these lines; Ushinsky and Rachinsky. The former left a truly wonderful description of Church Holidays in his stories. Neither sentimental nor pious, they appeal to children by their simplicity and their inner adequacy to the spirit of the Church. Rachinsky's works are even more valuable — especially those written for the village school founded by him. We find a unique synthesis of soberness and inspiration in them, a reflection of the very nature of Orthodox Spirituality.

But the work of these two men, and that which had accumulated in the Russian religious consciousness during the 19th and 20th centuries, in general poses rather than solves the problem of Orthodox education. This problem belongs to the future and its basic prerequisite is naturally, the development of an Orthodox culture, i.e., a true culture, permeated with the spirit of Orthodoxy, with its freedom and fulness; its creative vitality and its loyalty to the Holy Scriptures and to the teachings of the Church Fathers.

Today, the problem of Orthodox education is forced on us by life itself. The Orthodox are everywhere living in close contact with non-Orthodox, and this fact requires an answer to the question: how should we educate our children in the true spirit of Orthodoxy? Our time, with its mass civilization, its tremendous shifts of population, etc. gives the whole problem a character of urgency. To leave it without solution would result in a real tragedy.

The Church in Byzantium and in Democratic Countries

ALEXANDER BOGOLEPOV

THE SPREAD of the democratic form of government and of the constitutional guaranty of religious freedom weakend the ties of the Christian Churches with the State to the point of a formal separation of one from the other. The Orthodox Church was involved in this change much later than other Christian confessions. In countries with old Orthodox Churches, the constitutional reforms were introduced at a slower tempo than in Western Europe and America. And then, after the Second World War, the Orthodox Churches in Eastern Europe and the Balkans passed through a catastrophic change for the worse. They were forced to deal with an openly anti-religious Communist regime. There resulted a move to clarify the very foundation of Orthodox Church-State relationship. An attempt to present an Eastern Orthodox point of view on this subject is made by A. V. Kartasheff, Professor at the St. Sergius Theological Institute in Paris, in a recent book "The Restoration of Holy Russia". The scope of the book is wider than the title suggests. The principles of the future organization of the Russian Church are but conclusions from a more general Orthodox doctrine of Church-State relationship. This article will be concerned primarily with this general doctrine.

Professor Kartasheff thinks the key to all questions concerning Church-State relationship lies in the Byzantine theory of "Symphony". This system of Church-State relationship is, according to him, "the best theoretically possible of all existing systems" and "the most perfect" from the dogmatical, philosophical, canonical and practical points of view. The system's condemnation by some modern Orthodox Theologians as "hopelessly archaic" is rejected as "a pseudoscientific superstition" (pp. 17, 123). Professor Kartasheff attempts to give a complete justification of the "symphony" and in addition to the already known arguments in its favor, suggests some new ones, which deserve careful consideration.

The "dogmatical" justification of the "symphony" in Professor Kartasheff's opinion, is found in the Chalcedonian dogma of the unity of the Divine and human nature of Christ. This doctrine, being the "wisdom of all wisdom" and "the philosophy of all philosophies" simultaneously serves as the basis for the defense of the symphony on philosophical grounds. According to the author, this formula of the 4th Ecumenical Council compels

one to think of Church-State relationships in terms of a unity without confusion and without division, a unity in which the Church and State are "two functions of the one and the same organism" (p. 12). In this organic unity the moral primacy and spiritual leadership belongs to the Church, because of the spirit's necessary primacy over the flesh (i.e., the Church over the State). Consequently, the Chalcedonian doctrine forces us, according to the author, to consider any separation of Church and State as a heresy, either Nestorian or Monophysite. (p. 53, 54).

Thus the theological justification of the "Symphony" consists in the application of Christological principles to sociology. But if in its inner life, the Church is guided by Divine Grace as in its relation with social groupings and institutions, it also acts as an organized institution or a social phenomenon. If in its historical form, the Church is a society, is it possible to express its relation with another social institution — the State — in terms of the unique and supernatural "characteristics" proper to the union of the Divine and human nature of Christ alone? Would this not be an application of the same measure to subjects having no common measure? What can be said of the unique relation of the two natures in Christ is of no relevance for a totally different type of relation between the Church and State. This latter relationship can be expressed only in those categories which are applicable to all social institutions and to various forms of their co-existence: independence, subordination, cooperation, etc. But in these categories, the "without division" would necessarily mean confusion and even absorption of one element by the other. In-as-much as the Church is united to the state, the Church necessarily makes her own a spirit alien to her nature: the "power of the sword" and therefore betrays the "without change" of the Chalcedonian formula. And on the other hand, in-as-much as the Church avoids taking any part in the affairs of the State, and lives its own life, the last note of the dogma "without separation" becomes void and meaningless. All this clearly shows that Chalcedon has simply nothing to do with Church-State relationship and cannot serve as a universal compass. (p. 96). In the author's opinion on the priority of the Church over the State, there is a deviation from the Chalcedon dogma. The priority is based on the relationship of the spirit and the flesh but the union of "true God and true man" in Christ cannot be compared to a union of the soul and flesh in man.

As to the canonical "justification", it is made difficult because the canons adopted by the Councils mention only the honorary precedence of the emperor over the laity, his right of bringing Eucharistic gifts to the altar and entering the sanctuary (Trullo 69) but say nothing of his function in the administration of the Church. Therefore, the author sees the Byzantine union of the Church and State as sacred tradition of the Church ("Church and

State" in *Orthodoxy in Life*, p. 153) meaning that the justification of "Symphony" is not in the Church Canons but is given in the Church's tradition. "The Church", in the author's words "triumphantly received in its embrace, yesterday's persecutor — the Roman Empire, and without the slightest hesitation and doubt, recognized it as not only its protector, but a weapon to establish the Kingdom of God on earth" (p. 73). "The plenary powers of the emperor as bishop of the external affairs of the Church," were from this point of view, "canonically justified in view of the service of the Monarchy for the benefit of the Church" (p. 99).

It is without doubt that Church customs, as reflections of traditions in the sphere of administration may be the sources of the body of Canon Law along with specific Church regulations and canons. But the canons, as rules governing the Church's establishment, may be changed by competent authority to fit the conditions of time and place. The Ecumenical Councils changed them more than once. If any rule of Church life is determined by a custom, then it can be dispensed with or modified by a custom as well. The Church of Constantinople is just as much entitled to repeal or modify its union with the State, which was based on custom, as any other Orthodox Church. Even the author cites this principle, saying that not all Orthodox people must be Monarchists, such as those living in the United States or Germany (p. 185). If this is so, then the ecclesiastical traditions of Byzantium, inseparably tied with its Monarchical structure, have no force for Orthodox churches in other lands. Even if these traditions should be voluntarily adopted, they can just as easily be discarded. However, the author assures us, in speaking of Orthodox monarchy with its anointed defender of faith, that this is "neither dogma nor canon" but the *pleroma* of Orthodoxy (p. 185) i.e., a more complete expression of the idea of Orthodoxy, its "full blooded ideals" (p. 100). But if, in agreement with this forthright admission, the Byzantine system of "Symphony" is "neither dogma nor canon", of what significance can its dogmatical and canonical justification be?

The last justification is "practical". "Has this beautiful dream been realized in practice? Was the 'Symphony' successful in history?" asks the author. He provides his own answer, yes and no. No, to a greater extent than yes. In another place he admits that Byzantium has never fully succeeded in realizing the symphony between Church and State in History. This seems to be sufficient to admit the impracticability of the "Symphony". In the name of historical accuracy the author considers it important to show namely in what the "symphony" was successful.

"The great historical achievements" of the "Symphony" are that "we received a rich heritage of Christianization of the whole European culture" and that "the combined forces of the Church and State resulted in the baptism

of whole nations, Syrians, Copts, Ethiopians, Armenians, Georgians, Bulgarians, Serbians, Romanians and Russians." In these more or less young Orthodox nations, "the system of the 'Symphony' was realized with much less drama" than in Byzantium "and one might say, positively succeeded" (p. 76). In Russia, the "Symphony" was effective until Patriarch Nikon and Czar Alexis. Only at the time of Peter did the absolutely secular ideal of government triumph, and the canonical freedom of the Church was curtailed (p. 104).

The reference to the great significance of the activities of princes and emperors in the spread and support of Christianity is justified. But this great spread would have not been possible without the activity of the Church's missionaries. Christianity penetrated various levels of pagan peoples usually before the baptism of the whole nation in accordance to the wishes of its prince. Along with the clergy and the monks, the ordinary layman supported the Church with his labors and material help, and contributed to the Church's material wealth which often was later "appropriated" by the government.

Before the 18th century, the Church in Moscovite Russia, was often established in many places through the activities of parish organization which bore all financial burdens on themselves. The "Brotherhoods" saved the Orthodox Church in South Russia from encroachments of Catholic powers. Not only because of the "Symphony" of Church and state, but also in spite of it, the members of the Church supported God's Church. More than once did they have to defend the Church from the State.

The success of the "Symphony" is also seen in that the Byzantine Church endured severe tribulations and difficulties caused by its cooperation with the state, without losing its freedom and did not fall under imperial submission. Admitting the servile action on the side of some bishops the author points to the uninterrupted gallery of heroic defenders of the Church's freedom, monks, bishops and patriarchs: St. Athanasius the Great, Maximus the Confessor, Theodore Studite, Patriarch Nicholas the Mystic, Patriarch Arsenius, Mark of Ephesus and many others. The author absolutely rejects any existence of Caesaropapism (p. 75).

There is no need to talk about Caesaropapism in Byzantium. The emperor never had simultaneous absolute authority over both State and Church. He was never a Primate and had nothing of a priestly status. In spite of attempts to secure the true faith, the emperor never obtained the absolute prerogative to do so. In a persistent struggle, the Church retained the prerogative of teaching of the faith. This was secured at the cost of many sufferings of confessors who endured imperial persecutions. It must be admitted, however, that ecclesiastical administration was submitted to the emperor. The Byzan-

tine emperors considered it their privilege to enact laws concerning the Church, to issue additions to the Canons and even to change them. They assumed the right to appoint and depose bishops and patriarchs. The fatal consequence of their ecclesiastical meddling was the distortion of the canonical structure of the ancient Church. The original structure of the Church based on self-government (popular elections of bishops) changed into a system of government submitted to the emperor's power.

In this confusion of Church-State administration under the emperor, the real reason for the "Symphony's" failure is evident. The idea of the "Without division and without confusion" functioning of the Church and State, with the retention of freedom of each, was not justified in practice. Furthermore, the primacy of the spiritual over the material was not realized. As noted by the author himself "an opposite tendency, that of the primacy of matter over the spirit — the State over the Church" was the result in Byzantium (p. 75). Hardly any other result could have been possible.

The idea of "Symphony" originated with the emperors. In-as-much as it was reflected in several laws and Novellae, it served to guard the interests of the emperors who were obliged to make many concessions to Christianity. Having lost the power of Pontifex Maximus, they could not avoid seeing that these lost powers were transferred to the hierarchy. At the same time the emperors attempted to retain an influence in this sphere. With the decisive division of priestly and imperial powers, Justinian's sixth Novella retains in the hands of the emperor the "protection of the true doctrines" as well as the "care of the dignity of the priestly office," i.e., control over their activities and conduct.

The "Epanagogue" of Basil the Macedonian (9th century) preserved the above mentioned views. The Patriarch is styled as "the living and inspired image of Christ". He alone can interpret canons and decisions of the Councils, but the Emperor is left with the responsibility to "defend" Scripture and doctrines formulated by the Seven Ecumenical Councils. The Emperor did not cease to be the "defender of Faith" and in this connection the patriarch was given the privilege "to speak the truth and defend doctrine before the Emperor without fear". This "fearless" defence of the faith obviously referred to cases of a difference of opinion between the Emperor and the Patriarch, and implied that the Emperor still had a function in the formulation of doctrine. Nowhere in the "Epanagogue" is the administration of the Church excluded from the concern of the Emperor. At the same time the Patriarch was completely excluded from civil administration: he had to live in Christ and be crucified for the world. Emperor Alexis Comnenus especially stressed imperial prerogatives in Church administration in his Novella of

1107 A.D., and considered it within his rights to direct the Patriarch and bishops in pastoral affairs.

What the emperors desired was that the Church "harmonize" with them while they remained the conductors. They did not shy away from persecuting those who disagreed. Those bishops who were not in accord were usually deposed and exiled or imprisoned. The "Symphon" functioned in those rare cases when an emperor expressed an especially benevolent attitude to the Church. Usually the "Symphony" was discordant to the hearing of the Christian hearts.

As obvious as the failures of the "Symphony" are, they do not shake the convictions of the partisans of the system. The abuses are explained as mal-
evolent actions inevitable in this sinful world. "The sins and failures do not disavow the system in its essence" says the author (p. 75). But all systems of social organizations are practical systems. They show the ways and means for achievement of definite goals. Of course, not one of them is perfect. Nevertheless, if one or the other social system does not prove itself in practice, it can rightfully be rejected as unsuitable. To see the failure of the "Symphony" only in the fact that this is a sinful world is not justifiable. All social systems are designed with human weaknesses in view. According to an old axiom, laws are passed to protect the people from their weaknesses. The practical test was, and remains, the only criterion for any system of social life.

Finally, the "Symphony" has defects lying in its very origin. It has in mind an attempt to amalgamate the lives of two organizations having completely different aims. The State is concerned with the betterment of earthly existence of its subjects and acts both by conviction and coercion. The Church directs people on a path which may lead them, not only to a genuine human life on earth, but also beyond the boundaries of earthly interests to everlasting life; its discipline is based on voluntary obedience only. Bishop Cassian is correct in asserting that any attempt to build a "Symphonic" Christian state "is bound to be a failure" as an attempt to "unite what cannot be united". (*The Kingdom of Caesar before the Judgement of the New Testament*, Paris, 1949, pp. 49-50.)

The attempt is all the more futile because this "full-blooded Symphony" is thought of in terms of friendship between the Church and an absolute monarchy. The presupposition is that the Monarch is a "faithful son of the Church" and that the Church can act on his "living Christian conscience" (p. 99), thus receiving the necessary support for itself in view of his extensive powers. But an absolute monarch can give full self-government and freedom to the Church only at the expense of limiting his own power. In practice, he cannot allow the Church to act in opposition to his views whatever they may be. An absolute monarchy by its nature rejects the idea of human rights as a

boundary to a meddling of the State's authority into the life of individual subjects. The recognition of these rights of individuals, brought about constitutional guarantees of religious freedom and the separation of the State and Church. A republic can be just as dictatorial as a monarchy. Likewise a monarchy as well as a republic can be a democratic form of government in which the representatives of the people take part in the legislation and an independent judiciary stands as a guardian of individual liberties. The alliance of an absolute monarchy with the Church caused many a painful result in the life of the Church, as was evident in the history of Byzantium and Russia. And it is not surprising that the "Symphony" became such a difficult experience.

2.

Highly appraising the ancient ideal of the "Symphony", with respect to today's governments, the author inclines towards "the practical preference . . . for a maximum independence of the Church from the State" and the utilization of "all useful aspects" of the separation of Church and State (p. 87). These motives are purely practical. "The beautiful dream" of a Christian State vanished from the horizon of the too-secular state of today (p. 68). "Where the constitutional government guarantees the Church's canonical freedom, there the Church can exist separated from the State and pursue its teaching, sacramental and moral mission in as favorable an atmosphere as possible in the secular state" (p. 83, 84). The strength of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States is for the author "a shining example proving that official government sanction is not necessary for the Church to flourish" (p. 96). Here is the paradox, "Chalcedonian Orthodoxy of the 'Symphony'" (p. 84) resulted in "well known misuse of despotism by the Byzantine Emperors in their handling of Church affairs" (75), and in the "double-minded embracement of the traitor-state" (p. 250), whereas the basically heretical-Nestorian-system of the separation of the Church and State can guarantee canonical freedom of the Church and enable it to flourish. None the less, the author's adherence to the Byzantine "Symphony" does not at all prevent him from highly appreciating the benefits of the democratic government for the normal functioning of the Church.

To guarantee the Church's self-government, to allow it to live according to its own canons, are in the opinion of the author, the healthy basis for the Church's existence. (p. 66).

Moreover, he finds an absolute expression of the Church's self-determination in the conciliar form of government—uniting into one whole, the bishops, clergy, and laity according to the decisions of the Moscow Sobor of 1917 (p. 117). The author was an active witness of this movement which resulted in the Moscow Sobor. As Minister of Confessions of the Provisional

Government, he contributed very greatly to the preparation of the Sobor, and remains true to its statutes, in spite of the critical attitude towards the Sobor in some ecclesiastical circles.

The author pays a special attention to a very important problem of the clerical life — the role of the layman in the Orthodox Church. As long as laymen infiltrate into all strata of government of the Church, they must also take a significant part in the missionary functions of the Church and the Christianization of life. The hierarchy cannot struggle single-handedly against a godless civilization which overtook the world (p. 134). Without a "mobilized laity", the re-establishment of Christian fundamentals in life cannot be sufficiently successful. In the author's opinion, Orthodoxy has all the advantages of the Church of Rome, because of the hierarchical principle and all the advantages of Protestantism because of recognition of the responsibility and activity in Church life of the lay members of the Church (p. 146).

But priests must not detach themselves from the altar and the Christianization of the world remains the special vocation of the laity. Under the spiritual guidance of the clergy, the laity must work for the transfiguration of life in the spirit of the Gospel (pp. 133-137). Going further, the author states that the traditional form for lay activity in the Orthodox Church is the brotherhood, on the parish level and on the level of greater regional organization. Whereas the primary purpose of the parish in the author's opinion, is the salvation of souls, the Brotherhoods must take action in the social, cultural and economic spheres of the State. These Brotherhoods must have approval of the hierarchy and have at their head an elected president (p. 147), and as co-president a clergyman approved by the bishop. No matter how closely the brotherhoods may come in contact with politics, the author is definitely against an establishment of a special Church political party (p. 151). In this manner, the activity of the brotherhoods may be likened to the early Christian avoidance of political activity (p. 79, 80). The brotherhoods may thus prevent a nefarious force from taking over the basic forms of social mores (p. 81).

This, in a broad sense, is the author's prescription for the activity of laymen in the Church. It can be assumed that the parishes also may have some activity like that of the brotherhoods, that the clergy, being trained in Christian culture, must take a more direct activity in these brotherhoods, and that it would be very difficult for them to stay away from political problems, but all that is to be verified by practice and can be settled in each country differently. The unquestionably valuable service rendered by the author lies in the formulation of the role of the laity, the explanation of the methods or their activity in the sphere of today's conditions without disregard to the fundamental principles of the Church's structure.

3.

What connection is there between the "Symphony" and the author's opinion on the position of the Church in a democratic state and the participation of the laity in Church life? The author arrives at the connections in a very elaborate manner. First of all, the "Symphony" is called "one type of Theocracy" (p. 81). Theocracy is not understood in an ordinary sense as a union of Church and State powers in one authority, but in a sense of the Church's primacy over the State, inasmuch as the Church must point to the goals of the Christian State (p. 74), and spiritually govern the world, establishing the Kingdom of God on earth as it is in Heaven. In this respect, says the author, the Church is in its very essence a "Theocracy or a Christocracy" (p. 54). Thus the meaning of the "Symphony" is ultimately found in the "Theocratic mission of the Church" to enlighten all social life with the light of Christ. In-as-much as the mission of the brotherhoods and other Church organizations of lay people consists also in the Christianization of the State, their activity is considered a part of "the theocratic goals of the Church" (p. 247-248). In connection with this, a gradual, molecular, "Churchifying" of life as a result of the activities of Church organizations and brotherhoods, is proclaimed to be "the modern form of Christian Theocracy" (p. 249) — a practical reincarnation of the same "Byzantine Symphony" which in its "classical form" became unrealistic and in view of radical social changes has to be completely remodelled.

It is not hard to see that this remodelling goes so far as to make the traditional concept of the "Symphony" seem obscure. In the new "Symphony", the Church no longer leads the people in authoritarian ways in order to enforce discipline, law and obedience, but acts only as a way of persuasion and spiritual influence (p. 88). In a revised and transfigured theocracy, the Church does not enter into a union with the State but with Society, with the believers, with the living powers of the nations, with the soul of nations and culture or directly with the heart of the people.

It is not hard to see that this remodelling goes so far as to make the traditional concept of the "Symphony" lose its original characteristics. In the new "Symphony", the Church no longer leads the people in authoritarian ways in order to enforce discipline, law and obedience, but acts only as a way of persuasion and spiritual influence (p. 88). In a revised and transfigured theocracy, the Church does not enter into union with the State but with Society (p. 250), with the believers (p. 157), with the living powers of the nations (p. 91), with the soul of nations and culture (p. 97), or directly with the heart of the people (p. 250). In this plurality of definitions, the new partner of the church loses its definite character, in any case it is no longer the bearers of State authority.

That which the author calls the "new symphony" is not at all a new form of the "Byzantine Symphony" or its continuation. It is a completely new thing. A democratic government, which guarantees freedom of the Church under which this "new symphony" can be effective, is precisely in opposition to the autocratic monarchy of Byzantium which produced the old "symphony".

The author's defence of the Freedom of the Church is something new in comparison to the Byzantine "Symphony". Both in Byzantium and in Russia the Church administration depended on the State. The role which the author gives to the organized laity is also actually the new form of the Church life possible in a democratic country only.

All this does not diminish from the value of Professor Kartasheff's appeal for a Christian struggle against the triumphant neopaganism and atheism. His defense of the new order which commenced at the Moscow Sobor of 1917-1918, and his formulations of the laymen's activities and responsibilities deserve recognition. All this is significant, independently of whatever ties there may be with Byzantine "Symphony", and deserves to be noted as both a basis for the new structure of the free Church of Russia of the future as well as for other Orthodox Churches.

The Russian Family: A Study in It's Religious and Moral Tradition

NICHOLAS S. ARSENIIEV

THE RUSSIAN FAMILY in its patriarchal aspect, the patriarchal and at the same time dynamical family tradition, constitutes, not less but perhaps even more than in other countries, the backbone and the basic cell of the cultural and spiritual life of the Russian people. It possesses, at its best, an immense winning charm. There is an air of loving intimacy that permeates it (as it is more or less the case with all loving families), but there is also a certain sober balance and earnestness coming from the sense of nearness of the Holy. For the background of this family, its foundation, its inspiring force, as it is certainly the case also with other pious families in other countries, is the sense of the nearness of the Holy, of standing in the awe-inspiring and comforting presence of the Divine.

The family is built (like other Christian families) on parental blessing. The blessing of the parents plays an immense role in Russian spiritual and cultural life. You find it already depicted with great emphasis in the old Russian epical hero songs, the byliny. You see the son, before he starts on his career as a warrior, a Russian knight errant (bohatyr), kneeling down to implore the blessing of his mother or father.

Not a fresh green oak is bowing here to the ground,
Nor small leaves are scattered on the earth:
It is the son that kneels down before his mother (or father),
As he begs for her (or his) parental blessing.

Even the indisCIPLINED and ruthless outlaw Vaska Buslayev recognizes the moral authority of his venerable old mother and kneels for her blessing:

Vaska decided to travel to the city of Jerusalem,
He began to beg his mother to give him her blessing,
His impetuous head he bows down to the humid earth
Not a white birch-tree is here bending down,
Nor silken leaves are spreading on the ground:
Vaska bows deeply before his mother.

The idea of the sanctity of the parental blessing is deeply engraved in the hearts of the Russian people. The mother's blessing "saves on earth and water", so runs an old popular saying. There are many stories from Russian life illustrating this. The son goes to war, Mother and Father bless him with a small ikon of Our Lord or of Our Lady with the Divine Child. It represents the incessant prayer which the mother pours out before the throne of

the Lord. And these prayers of the Mother, this blessing of the Father protect him amidst death and carnage on the battle-field. The small ikon hung on the youth's breast by the hand of the mother has sometimes deviated — so run these family tales — the enemy's bullet that was meant for him. The bullet strikes the ikon and bounces back. This happened to the great grandfather of Leo Tolstoy, Prince Sergei Feodorovitch Volkonsky in the Seven Years War. This has inspired Leo Tolstoy to that beautiful scene in "War and Peace" in which Princess Mary Bolkonsky (Tolstoy changed only one letter of the family name) blesses with an old ancestral ikon of Our Saviour, her noble minded, but unbelieving brother Prince Andrew Bolkonsky, a free-thinker, who goes to war against Napoleon.

"Even against your will, He will save you and will have mercy upon you and will convert you to Himself — because in Him alone there is truth and peace of mind," said Mary in a voice trembling with emotion and with a solemn gesture she lifted before her brother with both hands, an ancient small ikon of Our Lord with a dark face in a silver frame, attached to a small silver chain. She crossed herself, kissed the ikon and held it out to Andrew. "Please, Andre, for my sake". Out of her large eyes streamed forth rays of a tender and shy light. These eyes irradiated all her sickly, meager face and made it beautiful. The brother stretched his hand to take the ikon, but she stopped him. Andrew saw what she meant, crossed himself and then kissed the ikon."

The family ikon plays a great role in the old Russian family, it represents the religious link between the generations. As the family Bible in an old protestant home with all the dates of births and deceases written on a blank title-page, so also the family ikon represents the religious tradition of the family. When a young couple marries, it receives the paternal blessings and takes the family ikon, wherewith it has been blessed, embodying as it were this blessing, into their new home. We can quote a long series of illustrations of this custom. Very characteristic are the wedding ceremonies and rites observed for many centuries in the houses of the Russian peasants in different provinces of Russia and completing the Church ritual. So in the government of Smolensk, both fathers, the real and the "honorary" one (the last representing the idea of sacramental religious paternity, like the "god-father in the sacrament of baptism") impart all kind of admonitions and finally their blessing to the bridegroom. He bows deeply to them touching the floor with his head, and the women sing,

"Not a young black steed is here stamping the earth with his hoof
It is our young prince — the bridegroom — begging for blessing
From father, that begot him, from father that imparts blessing
From mother that has born him, from mother that blesses him."

In the government of Nijni-Novgorod, when all the party is ready for

going to church, the bridegroom and the bride are each separately blessed by their parents in their respective home. This takes place in the following way: A table is set in the corner of honor under the holy images, it is covered with a white cloth, a dark rye bread with a salt-cellar is placed on the table together with a cake and white bread. Candles and an oil lamp are lighted before the ikons; all the members of the family are praying. Then the god-father takes the bride-groom by one hand and the best man takes him by the other and they lead him to the father and the mother who stand behind the table, the father with the ikon in his hand, the mother with a loaf of bread. The son falls thrice on his face before his father. The father blesses him with the ikon, making the sign of the cross, he kisses the ikon and the son kisses it, then they kiss each other. Then the mother does the same thing. Then both father and mother bless him with the loaf of bread, making also the sign of the cross.*

Similar rites and customs lived in all classes of Russian people throughout the vast country. A detailed description exists which shows how the blessing of parents has been solemnly imparted to the first Tsar of the Romanoff dynasty Michael Fedorovitch, at his marriage on the 5th of February, 1623. After having assisted at the Divine Liturgy, the young Tsar begged for the blessing of his father—Patriarch Filaret Nikititch, in the following words: "Great Lord and Father! Holiest Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia. According to the will of the All-Bountiful God and to your permission and that of my mother, the nun and great Tsarina Marfa Ivanovna, our wedding is appointed for to-day, a day of great joy to me. Holiest Patriarch — bless thy son." The Patriarch in blessing his son said, "The almighty and unspeakable One — may He bless thee. Let Him vouchsafe to thee and to thy spouse long years and a numerous offspring. May thou see the son of thy son and the daughter of thy daughter . . ." And he blessed him with the ikon of the Holy Virgin.

We see from innumerable examples that the family ikon, representing the invisible blessing of God and the intercession of the members of the family for one another, was closely connected with various events of the family life. General D. S. Dokhturov who commanded the left wing of the Russian army at the battle of Borodino, 1812, in which the chief attacks of Napoleon were directed against this very exposed left wing of the Russians, writes to his wife on the night after the battle: "I thank you, dearest, for the ikon you sent me. I will at once hang it on my breast. I see God's mercy towards me, He saved me amidst the greatest dangers."* A. N. Turgenev (1772-1863), one of the

* See Terestshenko, "*The Customs and Life of the Russian People*" (in Russian), Part II, Wedding Ceremonies, St. Petersburg, 1848, pp. 448, 269.

** "*Russkiy Arkhiv*" 1874, No. 11, p. 1096.

most cultivated Russians of the first half of the 19th century, tells us in his "Memories" (written in 1848) how as a boy of 14, he was sent in 1786 by his parents to St. Petersburg. "Before my departure my parents blessed me with the ikon of Our Lord. . . Apart of that, my mother hung a holy cross round my neck and gave me a bag with small coins, enjoining me in a most earnest way never to refuse an alm to a poor one."*

There was a custom in pious Russian families, especially in those where a higher moral refinement was combined with patriarchal tradition, to impart mutual blessings by making the sign of the cross over one another before going to bed. A. S. Khomiakov, the great religious thinker and religious poet, recalls in one beautiful poem the blessing that he imparted every night to his little children — now, alas! dead — leaning over their little beds.

These rites and customs, manifestations of family tenderness, this blessing by the parents sanctified by the Church, lived throughout all Russia in the various classes, from the most refined to the uncultivated, until the coming of the Bolsheviks to power. The Bolsheviks tried to destroy the religious life and the patriarchal family tradition in Russia. They succeeded only partially: we will return to that. But they have eradicated many beautiful habits and forms of life and traditions and suppressed the normal background of family life: by ousting people of their homes — millions and millions of them! — by killing and deporting them, by making them live in compulsory conglomerations in mass-quarters, by tearing families asunder, by plundering and burning down homes and annihilating all kinds of family relics and remembrances, by violently outrooting people from their native soil and transporting them by force to a new, unfriendly surrounding, by trying to destroy all links between man and his past and all that he loved. The spirit of family cohesion, of love for tradition, of piety and reverence, they wanted — and still want — to kill, to exterminate throughout the country: and in many things they have succeeded. The outward frame of life is broken, the frame and order of family life with its rich heritage of customs and remembrances has also been almost shattered to pieces. But in the depth of the people's heart the inspirations of family love and piety and the voice of religious consciousness are not totally smothered; the success of the Bolsheviks — as we shall see — proved to be much less decisive than they hoped and expected. Perhaps they have even lost or are losing the spiritual battle on this ground. This gives us hope for the future of Russia.

2.

Let us return to the spiritual riches of Russian family tradition in the past, some of the most important ones are still alive even now, but are often hid-

* "*Russkaya Starina*," 1885, p. 375.

den. The greatest treasure of Russian family culture and the center thereof — as is the case in every Christian civilization — is the Christian mother. The mother is the living channel through which the religious element, the influence of the dynamic life of the Church streams into the family. As in other Christian countries, the influence of the mother is often decisive for the spiritual growth of the children. Her image has shone forth in a number of old Russian families of a high and refined culture, families that have combined a deep religious inspiration with this outstanding cultural level.

The great Russian thinker, Alexey Khomiakov writes about his mother, "The whole inspiration of my life and also my perseverance in this direction, I owe to my mother. Happy is he who had such a mother and such a guide from childhood." (Letter to M. S. Mukhanov*) We have eloquent pages dedicated by the Russian philosopher, Prince Eugene Trubetzkoy (1864-1920), a great thinker and scholar and a great Christian, to the memory of his mother. She knew how to influence and to mould the soul of her children and how to inspire them with the sense of the presence of God. It was like a sudden vision of the All-Seeing Eye, piercing into the depths of the darkness, that flashed upon the mind of the little boy — so he tells us in his "Memoirs", when the mother spoke once to the children of the omnipresence of God, seeing all, knowing all, so that nothing can be concealed from His sight. Such impressions remain for life, says Trubetskoy.

The true Christian mother is of course not peculiar to the Russian family. But nevertheless we must speak of her here, without her image, not only the picture of the family tradition would be incomplete, but even the spiritual center of the family would be missing. The Christian faith often becomes a reality for her children in her person. There are many examples of such Christian women; beautiful and touching are the words which Leo Tolstoy dedicates to Tatiana Alexandrovna Yergolaskaya, his aunt, who replaced the mother for him, his brothers and sister (as his mother died when he was only one and one-half years old). His Aunt consecrated her whole life and love to these children. "The chief feature of her life, which involuntarily influenced me, was her admirable, all-embracing kindness to everybody. I try to remember, and I cannot, a single occasion on which she got cross or pronounced an uncharitable judgement — for the long space of thirty years I cannot remember a single occasion. She never taught by words, she never imparted admonishments. All her moral struggle was achieved in the depths of her heart; what appeared outwardly, were her deeds — even not so much her deeds, as her whole life, peaceful, meek, obedient and loving — loving not with an unruly, self-complacent love, but with a love silent and unostentatious. She performed her interior work of love, and therefore she had no

* Dated Sept. 10th, 1857.

need to hurry. And these two features — love and unhurried calm — made her company so attractive and lent a special charm to an intimate intercourse with her. . . Not only was her love for me joyful, her whole atmosphere of love was joyful, love for those who were present and those who were absent, the living and the dead, all men and even animals.”

I know a mother that was not only the living center of the family life, but was like the presence of some higher reality among the family circle. Her kindness and love went far beyond the boundaries of the family; it was poured out on all people she met and who were in need of kindness, of moral and physical help, who were in sorrow. She felt the presence of the Lord in the least one among our brethren. But it was not theoretical, not abstract; it was a free spontaneous outpouring of bounteous love and compassion, giving — not reckoning. She wanted her children to learn to be compassionate. She wanted them to give away their favorite toys to poor orphans that had neither home nor joy. She loved children with a deep passionate love, during the Bolshevik period when they were torn away from her and put into a Bolshevik prison, she interceded for them before God in incessant prayer, full of burning trust and highest moral tension, in an untiring knocking at the doors of the Lord’s mercy and they were returned to her. This continuous prayer was characteristic of her. Even in her old age, she did a great deal of housework and then sat down for a while and took a book. But when left alone, she put the book aside and prayed for hours. It was a prayer of intercession, of buring, strenuous, undaunted intercession not only for her beloved ones, but also for all those whom she knew in need and anguish.

She was kind, humble and full of the most genuine and charming simplicity: so refined yet so natural. She had a great sense of humour, but there was an immense charity in this humour. She was full of indulgence for the weaknesses of other people, but she was also filled with indignation when she saw brutality and injustice and the trampling down of man by man. She had a refined mind and loved beautiful poetry. She was highly cultivated, spoke, read and wrote in four languages, was much read in history. But all her great gifts were dominated by the force of selfless love, helping, suffering, praying and hoping. This overstreaming charity was rooted in her religious life, in her life in Christ. For her, Christ was the central inspiring force. That made her a great pedagogue, not so much through words, but through her whole example, her whole being: she made one feel that the Lord was Someone very real and near. She was marvellous in the terrible period under the Bolsheviks, during the years of starvation. From her small ration, she gave nearly everything away to starving people asking for bread. On what she subsisted remains a mystery, but she did not think of herself, only of others. She lived in others, that was her natural life—to live in others and for

others and to stand in humility and simplicity of heart before the face of God. All this was done in such a natural way. It was a living stream of helping, of praying, of working, of comforting, of forgetting herself. It could not be checked, it was her life, a life already bearing the hidden rays of a beginning transfiguration on its face. There was no hysteria but a great balance and wisdom.

There were such persons among the Russian mothers and one could quote and name a series of heroical images, wise with love, meek in their great moral force, radiating love not only on their nearest ones, on the members of the family and household, but also on all those who came, as guests, as strangers, lonely and homeless, to sit down at their hearth and to inhale the cozy and friendly atmosphere of the home presided by such a mother. Such a personality was e.g. Avdotia Petrovna Kireyevsky, nee Yushkov, in second marriage Yelaguin (1789-1877), mother of the celebrated brothers Kireyevsky (Ivan, the great religious philosopher, and Peter, the ethnographer, the collector of Russian folksongs). Her house was a great cultural center, and she was the inspiring genius thereof. Her cousin, the famous poet Jukovsky, submitted his poems to her judgment and trusted her judgment and her critical taste. Poets, writers, historians and philosophers met in her hospitable house and especially many young men, young students, friends of her sons — the young Kireyevskys and the young Yelaguins — and here the young men found a motherly guidance, a wise and balanced judgement and an inspiration to all that is beautiful and good, and could participate in one of the most attractive and fruitful focuses of Russian intellectual life. The known Russian historian and jurist, Professor Kavelin (1818-1884), who was one of those young men, writes in his article dedicated to the memory of A. P. Kireyevsky-Yelaguin (1877), words of highest acknowledgement: "With love, deepest reverence and gratitude does the writer of these lines return in his thoughts to this happy period of his youth and with all his remembrances of this time is most closely connected the radiating, noble and attractive personality of Avdotja Petrovna Yelaguin, who always in regard to him and other youths, just beginning their lives, was full of boundless kindness, inexhaustible attention and solicitude. She was well acquainted with all the principal European literature, not excluding the most recent works, pursuing her study thereof with keen interest up to her death, but she loved especially the old French literature. Her favorite writers remained Racine, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Bernadin de St. Pierre, Massillon, Fenelon. . . There was no person more interesting, witty and agreeable to talk with. Talking to Avdotia Petrovna, one could spend hours without marking how the time went. Her lively, cheerful and kindly spirit united with an immense literary culture to a subtle power of observation and a personal knowledge of a great many of most

interesting personalities and events and supported by an extraordinary memory lent to her conversation and charm. All who knew her and visited her, have experienced her kindness and thoughtfulness. Avdotya Petrovna hurried to the rescue of everybody who was in need even if the person were completely unknown. Striking examples of her character are told by her relatives and friends." Kavelin concludes his pictures of Mrs. A. P. Yelaguin with the words, "Not only to children, but to us ourselves, it is difficult now to realize the peculiar life of our nearest ancestors. The best among them represented such a fulness and entirety of their personal life, intellectual and moral, that it is now difficult even to form an adequate idea thereof."*

3.

In such personalities, as depicted in the previous sections, a kind of cultural synthesis operated. The most active and earnest participation in the life of the Eastern Orthodox Church was often combined with a high degree of secular culture and with a participation also in the rich fruits of the Western cultural tradition. Those cultivated patriarchal Russian families thus became the first cells of this marvelous synthesis between East and West, so characteristic for the great Russian culture of the 19th century. We shall dedicate a special essay to this synthesis. At the present moment, I would like to dwell on the religious aspect of this family tradition a little more.

The participation of the family in the fellowship of the Church. The children were led into it by their parents. Its central manifestation was the fellowship of prayer, the liturgical life of the Church. The participation of the family in the worship of the Church became especially intense during Lent and at Easter time. A spirit of sobriety, of moral endeavor and self-denial, the desire to make a fresh moral start, to cleanse oneself and to conform one's life to the ways of the Lord, permeates not only the church prayers, but also the atmosphere of the home. This is felt with special force during the first week of Lent. A strain of repentance, of self condemnation, the cry of the heart for the mercy of God reveals itself in those songs and prayers: "Open to me the gates of repentance, O Giver of life." "O unfathomable and invincible force of the glorious and life-giving Cross, do not abandon us sinners!" The children regularly went with their parents to the beautiful Vesper service of the first four days of the first Lent week. The church is lit only by a few wax candles of the faithful and the choir breaks in with the cry, "Save me O Lord, save me," repeated after each sentence of the beautiful poem of penitence of Andrew of Crete. But the hearts were especially moved by the whole atmosphere of Holy Week. It is as if the steps of the Lord, marching to His Passion, were heard through the church services. And

* K. D. Kavelin Complete Works (in Russian), Vol. III, pp. 1121 ff.

in the homes the atmosphere was that of earnestness and spiritual concentration, increasing with the growing solemnity and sanctity of the memories attached to those days. These days of the commemoration of the Lord's suffering and burial were also a preparation for the reception of Holy Communion. An earnest scrutinizing of one's conscience led to the recognition of one's shortcomings and sins and moral misery and weakness. And thus prepared, one confessed one's sins to the priest in order to be able to receive the Sacrament of our Lord's Supper. The children were helped in this preparation for Holy Communion by their parents. The necessity of mending one's life, of a new earnest effort to serve the Lord, was equally felt by parents and children. This spiritual fellowship with parents before the face of the Lord, in the common endeavor to approach worthily the most Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Table, and to attain "newness of life" — this spiritual fellowship engraved itself deeply in the heart of the children and became one of the greatest treasures which they took on their life journey from the parents' Christian home.

The crowning event of the whole church year and also of the religious life of this Christian home was the celebration of the Easter Feast. The exultation over the victory of the Lord embodied in a church service of incomparable, deeply moving and triumphal beauty, was united here with the most intimate experience of family fellowship, happiness and solidarity as it was expressed in the cozy and joyous family meal on the dawn of the morning after the church service. Here family love, and joy were deeply penetrated by the feeling of the blissful nearness of the Risen Lord, and the reality of His victory over death, the pledge of our own resurrection.

Before closing this chapter, I should like to make a few quotations from several letters written by the celebrated teacher of spiritual life Bishop Feofan (1815-1894) to certain pious Christian parents. In these letters he answers their questions and doubts, he meets their moral difficulties and shows them the way to illuminate their home and family life by standing untiringly before the face of the Lord, by a manful moral endeavour and continuous interior invocation of the Lord's mercy and assistance. "The mercy of God be with you. All what comes from the Lord, independently of our choice, is best for us. It is not only a matter of faith, it is not so in an abstract way, but when carefully considered, the circumstances of our life clearly show, it is always so. Take your present pressure from all sides — your sickness and that of your son, and these unpleasant things which you are alluding to — all that is the very best of you and for all your family. Only pray and in praying thank God — we have to kiss the hand of God that punishes and teaches us. Our blindness that does not see anything and our self-love, that is too exacting — are the real causes of our afflictions and of the

fact that we are pained in our heart when the circumstance are unfavorable. . . I wish you placidity of spirit — A heart that is devoted to the Lord, will always be able to find peace." . . . (15, Nov. 1872).

He writes to the same lady in another letter, "The Lord is everywhere present . . . everywhere He is the same. No place brings Him near, no place makes Him distant. If He draws near to you, and you are conscious thereof, why should you be running hither and thither? It would be like trying to run away from the Lord. . .

You are seeking the Lord? Do seek Him, but within yourself. He is far from no one. The Lord is near those who invoke Him sincerely. Find a place in your heart and converse there with the Lord. This is the Lord's reception hall. Who-so-ever meets the Lord, meets Him there. And He has appointed no other place for encounters with the souls." (17 April 1872).

And to a family father that had regained his Christian faith he writes, "Nothing special is required from you now that you have been called to the faith by the Lord, except being sincerely faithful to your faith. And be grateful that the Lord has called you from the darkness to light. More than anything else, think of helping those who are in need; whosoever comes to you in tears, never dismiss him, without having dried them up. . . Behind the hand of the needy one, see always the hand of our Lord Himself who has converted you. He has said Himself, what you do to those poor ones, you will do it to Me." (14 Sept. 1874)

4.

What is the fate of the Russian family tradition, the foundation cell of Russian culture, now at the present moment? We already spoke of the attack that had been launched by Bolshevism against the Russian family with its faith, cultural and moral inheritance since their coming to power in 1917. We bring here a few facts taken at random, that illustrate those attacks. The Deputy Commissar for the People's Instruction, Comrade Madame Kollontay (later Soviet Minister Plenipotentiary in Sweden and Norway) in the first years after the beginning of the Bolshevik sway, addressed boys and girls in mixed schools with an exhortation to start as soon as possible with sexual intercourse. These exhortations of the official authorities were followed to a large extent. We possess official Bolshevik statistics from the end of the twenties, concerning some Leningrad schools, the number of young mothers among the school girls of the age 14 and 15 amounted to 70% of the whole number. There is a very eloquent book published by the Bolsheviks themselves in 1927 under the title, "The ways and life of Komsomol" (i.e. of the Communistic Youth Union).* The book includes a number of communica-

* "Komsomolsky Byt", 1927, Moscow.

tions coming from young people themselves, letters from members of the Communistic Youth, boys and girls — addressed to their leaders with questions, doubts and misgivings, especially related to the problem of sexual relations, of sexual morals and chastity. The life of the youth was contaminated and corrupted by the propaganda of unchecked freedom of animal instincts and as a result of an incredible laxity of morals and savage beastliness of conduct. The youth asked, what to do, how to combine the new freedom, the lack of moral restraint preached by the party ideologists with any amount of decent life. The answers given by the leading men of the Communistic Youth Movement and printed in the same volume, were absolutely inconclusive and could not help. For the moral situation acquired catastrophical dimensions: the youth came to such a degree of moral corruption, especially the students living in University dormitories run by the state on new communistic lines, the filth, physical and moral, became so great and influenced the health of the youth generation in such a devastating way that the Bolshevik state became alarmed and commanded to sound the retreat. A number of party-inspired novels appear in these years "The Dog's Lane" (Sobatchy pereulok), by Gumilevsky, "The Moon from the right side" (Luna s pravoj storony) by Malashkin and others which shed a terrifying, almost too vivid and too veracious light on this nauseous filth and degradation. This boundless unbridling of bestial lust was now to be considered as a danger to the state and had to be refrained. In the meantime, there were other deeper currents that helped and sustained the Russian family amidst those waves of moral disintegration. The family was one of the chief targets for Bolshevik attack from the beginning. This manifested itself in their divorce legislation. Divorce was simply a one-sided statement made by one of the spouses to the other in a quite casual way, without any further formalities, "From today we are divorced." One can imagine what havoc this unrestricted liberty of every day divorce, and that, completely one-sided, without even consulting the rights and wishes of the other party, brought into the lives of millions. There is a statistical survey (from the end of the twenties) of the divorces that took place in Moscow, the number of the divorces was twice as large as the whole number of population. One can easily imagine how the very existence of the family was threatened. Eventually the Bolsheviks were obliged to change their policy there too: the result of this campaign against the family and the home was too catastrophic from the point of view of national health and safety. This had to change, they began to proclaim (in the middle of the thirties) the necessity of a strong and healthy family and to restrict the unlimited facilities of divorce. Independent of the Bolshevik policy, the family in Russia in the midst of the most terrible ordeals, violent tearing asunder and killing of its members by Bolshevik authorities, began to gain in moral

strength. You can kill or imprison people, it does not kill the love that unites them, the bonds of affection and of common faith in God, this last resort, the ultimate source of hope and moral strength. And the family bonds grew even amidst the processes of physical destruction . . . and the family, the spirit of family affection, survived. And when the Bolsheviks were obliged to modify their line of conduct in regard to the family as an institution, the family could, so to say, take breath and develop on more peaceful lines, in an atmosphere of home, although not, of course, of security and freedom, for there is no security to be found in Soviet Russia. People from the West (civilians from the Baltic provinces, used by German military authorities as interpreters, or German officers and soldiers) that have been during the German Russian war (1941-1944) in the German occupied vast areas of North or Central or South and South East Russia, where the bulk of the population still remained on their seats, unanimously witness the high moral level of the Russian family, be it the peasant family or remnants of petty bourgeois class or intellectuals and of the strong bonds of family affection uniting its members. A friend of mine, a Baltic gentleman who was half Russian and spoke a beautiful Russian, was mobilized by the Germans against his will as an interpreter. He was taken by German troops as far as the region near Petersburg and told of the concentration camps in which many innocent Russian civilians were detained simply because they seemed suspicious to the Germans. Their families came from a distance of twelve and fifteen miles or more, on foot, on snow covered roads dragging along with them food, clothes and linen. It was a time of hunger. The families deprived themselves of the greatest part of their scanty food and brought it to their dear ones behind the German barbed wire. It was a scene of great distress and suffering, heart rending recognitions and partings, but also of manifestations of great heroic love. There was a boy of 12 years, so the witness of this scene told me, a peasant boy, who came from afar with a little sled that he dragged behind him in search of his father. He was not a bit afraid of the Germans, finally he found his father after he had already searched through many German concentration camps. He gave him the food and clothes he had brought with him. It was a deeply moving scene, even the German soldiers were deeply impressed. The same scene, but even in a more cruel atmosphere took place for many years at the gates of the innumerable Bolshevik prisons. Children, wives and sisters stood for hours in long queues waiting for the moment to present the parcel which they brought for the prisoner (father or other relative). They could only deliver it to the hands of the prison administration with no possibility to have a glimpse of the prisoner. The ties of family affection were strengthened in these sufferings and trials. The dynamic force of loving self-sacrifice and mutual service, creating and

permeating the real family life was reborn and gained new strength, unexpectedly, through the facts that were meant to destroy it. The paradox of heroic self-sacrifice revealed itself in full force here as it revealed itself in the persecution of religion in Soviet Russia, that on the whole, making of course abstraction of many cases of apostasy, strengthened and purified religion. But also another, more everyday life experience strengthened the family spirit: the family had become beside the Church (but church-going has been made, for many years, so difficult under the Soviets, so dangerous and in many cases impossible!) the only harbour of internal peace or the only oasis in the vast expanses of the cruel and ruthless Soviet system. Where all is being done to destroy the human personality, to reduce it to a mere number, a mere screw in the gigantic soul-less machine, here, in the family, the individual person counts as personality in its irreplaceable individual features. The destruction of human personality, the chief trend of Bolshevism, was hampered by the family, that poor family so helpless against the cruel waves that surround it, so easily crushed and rent asunder and physically exterminated. Still the family survived and at the beginning of World War II it was again stronger than in the beginning of the thirties. German soldiers and officers were deeply impressed, I know it from many sources, by the high moral level of Russian women, whether married or unmarried, of a much higher level, so they said, than those found in other countries.

The family, the family spirit, imbued with the traditions of Christian moral life and often rooted in religious reality, survived despite all its handicaps and was even strengthened. That was the first definite defeat of Bolshevism on the spiritual plane — in the soul of the Russian people. The other defeat was on the front of Religion.

Book Reviews

EUCHARIST AND COMMUNION

THE LITURGY OF THE PRESANCTIFIED, by D. N. Moraitis, *Thessalonica, 1955, 126 pp.* (in Greek).

The Liturgical tradition of the Orthodox Church forbids the celebration of the Eucharist on weekdays of Lent (with the exception of Saturdays, which always keep its liturgical character). But on Wednesdays and Fridays, the Eucharist is replaced by a special service of communion — “The Divine Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts”. In its liturgical structure, this service is a combination of Lenten Vespers with some elements of the “missa catechumenorum” and a corporate act of communion from the reserved sacrament prepared and “presanctified” at the previous complete Eucharist. In its actual form, this liturgy presents several problems: historical, liturgical, canonical and theological, but so far they have not attracted attention among Orthodox liturgiologists. We owe, therefore a special debt of gratitude to Professor Moraitis for his excellent study in which at least some of these problems are given an adequate treatment.

The author begins with a discussion of the origins of the Presanctified. He traces this service back to the “private” or rather the extra-liturgical communion, which seems to have existed in the early church. In the West this practice disappeared at an early date because of the introduction of the daily Mass. In the East, the difference between “eucharistic” and “non-eucharistic” days was maintained: at St. Basil’s time the custom, at least in Asia Minor, was to celebrate the Eucharist four times a week—on Sunday and Saturday, but also on Wednesday and Friday (*dies stationum*). During Lent, however, the Eucharist was not permitted on weekdays (Council of Laodicea, Canons 49, 51) and was replaced by a service of communion from the reserved sacrament. It is this communion, a very simple rite at the beginning, that progressively developed into a “liturgy” with a solemn entrance, the prayer of “prothesis” etc. The “Liturgy of the Presanctified” reached its actual shape in the late byzantine period (12-14 centuries). Professor Moraitis gives us a very detail description of this process based on a careful study of the manuscripts and of all available material. To this, he adds a good survey of the Byzantine commentaries on the service of the Presanctified and a pertinent analysis of the problem of its authorship (the traditional name, that of St. Gregory of Rome having obviously nothing to do with our present rite). His book will remain as a necessary starting point for all further study of the Liturgy of the Presanctified.

But this historical clarification, necessary and valuable as it is, does not solve the problem which the Liturgy of the Presanctified presents from the point of view of liturgical theology (which aims to discover behind the liturgical facts, their theological meaning, the “lex credendi” as embodied and expressed in the “lex orandi”). The problem has, it seems to us, several aspects and its solution may be important for some of the burning issues concerning our actual eucharistic practice.

First of all, the very existence of this service seems to indicate that our liturgical tradition makes a distinction between the full Eucharist and the Communion. The Eucharist is not celebrated during Lent, it is incompatible with “fasting”. Why? Be-

cause it is the "messianic banquet", the "Pascha of the Lord", the eschatological fulfillment of the church, the church's "feast of the Lord's presence" (cf. Mark 2:18: "Can the children of the bridechamber fast while the bridegroom is with them?") To put it in terms of modern theology, the Eucharist is the expression of the Church as "inaugurated eschatology". Therefore the day of the Eucharist is the "Lord's day" on which His disciples "eat and drink at His table in His Kingdom" (Luke 22:30). But there is also the Church as "fasting", as "waiting for the Lord's coming", as the effort, vigil and repentance—for "the days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them and then shall they fast in those days" (Mark 2:20). And one of the keys to the understanding of our liturgical tradition lies precisely in this rythm of Eucharist and Fast, so clearly indicated in our rubrics—fast meaning more than an ascetic diet: the expression of this whole "pole" of the Church's life as work for salvation, as a journey along the "narrow path": (on all this, cf. my article "Jeune et Liturgie" in *Irenikon*, JXVII, 1954, 292-301). And it is here, in this other dimension of the Church that communion is given its second meaning or function: that of a necessary help, a *sustenance* in the difficult fight for the transformation of the "Old Adam" in us.

These two meanings are by no means mutually exclusive. At each Eucharist, we partake of the "food of immortality" (St. Irenaeus of Lyons) which is "meat indeed, drink indeed" (John 6:55). And receiving the presanctified Sacrament, we achieve a joyful communion with the risen Lord. Yet, this distinction is important and we can see its importance when we consider our present eucharistic practice. The least one can say is that it not only deeply differs from the practice of the early church but that it openly contradicts the principles and the norms expressed in our present liturgical texts. The situation needs but a very brief description: the Eucharist without communicants (90% of all eucharistic celebrations if one excludes the celebrant, this fact does not shock anyone today, it has become so "normal"), and then, "communion" received usually once a year as a Christian "duty" performed essentially as an individual act, at a time set by the believer himself and practically with no relation to the liturgical life of the Church. (All this encouraged too often by the clergy themselves, "make your communion early this year, it will be too crowded on Palm Sunday", which obviously means that communion cannot have anything to do with the feast itself, be its natural expression and fulfillment, to say nothing of the communion day par excellence—the Liturgy of Easter. The service would be much too long!) Cannot this situation, strange and tragical, be explained precisely by the failure to understand the various functions of communion and their connotation in the liturgical life, the liturgical rythm of the Church? On the one hand, the Eucharist has ceased to be the joyful sacrament of the Kingdom for the faithful, the sacrament of unity in which "all of us who partake of the one bread and the one cup are united one to another in the communion of the Holy Spirit, unto the fulfilling of the Kingdom of Heaven" (Anaphora of St. John Chrysostom). It has lost, in other terms, its "eschatological" meaning to become a public worship (easily interchangeable with the "Typica") which one attends, but in which one does not partake. . . . And even when he receives communion at the Eucharist, the faithful still does it individually, and privately, not realizing the ecclesiological and the eschatological dimensions of this act. But, on the other hand, communion has also ceased to be for him the "meat indeed, and drink indeed"—i.e., the necessary food of his Christian life, the constant source of his spiritual effort, the healing of his soul and body, the purification of his spirit. Hence the understanding of it as an "obligation", a "duty" to be performed at least once a year—this being sufficient for a "Church member in

good standing". Having forgotten the Eucharist as the Sacrament of the Church, he has also forgotten communion as his real food.

There are hopeful signs today of dissatisfaction with this situation. One hears "frequent communion" mentioned more and more often. However, we must say here, that "frequent communion" is but a half of the real Orthodox doctrine of communion, and a half which if it is not completed by the other half can easily become a distortion of our liturgical tradition. It can lead to a kind of "extra-ecclesial" spirituality in which communion nourishes our individual piety but fails to challenge us constantly with all the dimensions of the Church—its unity, its mission, its edification, its growth into the fulness of Christ's stature. The emphasis on communion must be completed with an emphasis on Eucharist, as the corporate act, in which and through which the Church is being realized in its eschatological fulness. The "frequent" must become the "regular": communion with the Church, in the Church, for the Church . . . A truly Orthodox doctrine of communion must always preserve its two meanings: the corporate and the individual, describe it in function of its two aims: the edification of the Church, the Body of Christ, the edification of the Christian in the Church. The Liturgy of the Presanctified if properly understood within the whole liturgical tradition of the Orthodox Church, reminds us of this essential doctrine.

The second problem related to the Liturgy of the Presanctified is usually considered as a secondary matter of "rubrics" and therefore completely neglected. It is the *vesperal* character of this service, made even more evident in the book of Professor Moraitis. The rubrics prescribe to celebrate the Liturgy of the Presanctified after Vespers. The peculiar way of combining this rubric with the largely spread conviction that any communion service is by necessity a morning service consists in serving vespers—when it is followed by the Presanctified—in the morning! Yet a "theological" study of rubrics shows very clearly that the question of the time of any given service—of its "kairos"—is not something unimportant. I have dealt with this question in my article "Fast and Liturgy" (cf. above) and cannot repeat all its argumentation here. Let me just simply state that the vesperal character of the Presanctified Liturgy has precisely a spiritual meaning. The Church expects us on these days of strict fasting to live our daily life in expectation of and in waiting for the communion, to make life itself with all its problems, worries and occupations a *fast*—i.e., a preparation for the Bridegroom, filling it with the light of—His Coming. Thus the fast is given its true meaning and the "daily life" its Christian depth, sanction and responsibility. One can but hope that these "rubrics" will be restored someday, restoring to us their full spiritual value.

Finally a third question cannot be treated here at any length but must be at least stated. It has a special relevance to our Russian parishes here in America. The very existence of the Liturgy of the Presanctified is rooted in the rule forbidding the celebration of the Eucharist on weekdays in Lent. This rule, formulated in canons 49 and 51 of the Council of Laodicea has been and still is, strictly observed in all Orthodox Churches in the world. We have mentioned above, at least some of its motivations. It is an integral part of our liturgical and canonical tradition. And yet it is not only occasionally and "economically" transgressed in our parishes, but its transgression has become a general tradition, a fact accepted as perfectly normal by both clergy and laity. Why? The answer is: because of the Roman Catholic doctrine and practice of the "intentional masses" inherited from the Unia. But is this doctrine compatible with the Orthodox doctrine of the Eucharist? No. Let us not be mistaken; the doctrine of the Eucharist is at the very center of the Orthodox teaching about the Church,

Grace and Redemption. (cf. St. Irenaeus: "Our teaching is in agreement with the Eucharist and the Eucharist in agreement with the teaching", Adv. Haer. 4, 18, 5). Sooner or later a distortion in the Eucharistic faith and practice will result in a distortion of Orthodoxy itself. The question is too important to be treated here adequately but we must keep it in mind as one of the very serious and very urgent issues in our Church.

In spite of the deeply "liturgical" character of the Orthodox Church, liturgical theology has been one of the most neglected areas in Orthodox theological scholarship. It is time we pay more attention to our "lex orandi" and again learn how to discern in it our "lex credendi". The task is not an easy one; it requires much preparatory work, of historical nature especially. To this work, Professor Moraitis has made a very valuable contribution.

— ALEXANDER SCHMEMANN

THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN AMERICA

THE MINISTRY IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES, *Edited by H. Richard Niebuhr in collaboration with D. D. Williams; Harper and Brothers, New York, 1956, 339 pp. \$5.50.*

THE PURPOSE OF THE CHURCH AND ITS MINISTRY, *Reflections on the Aims of Theological Education, by H. Richard Niebuhr in collaboration with D. D. Williams and J. M. Gustafson; Harper and Brothers, New York, 1956, 134 pp. \$2.50.*

Theological education in America is undergoing a thorough process of self examination, re-evaluation and critical appraisal. "More than a hundred theological schools have agreed to examine themselves and the status of theological education in general, to raise immediate and ultimate questions about their purposes, their methods and their effectiveness in discharging their duties; to seek ways of improving their own ministry" (forward to the Purpose of the Church). A special center—"The Study of Theological Education in the United States and Canada" was established at Yale under the direction of Professor Richard Niebuhr assisted by Professors D. Williams and J. Gustafson. Its staff visited over 90 seminaries and organized conferences and interviews with ministers and theological students throughout the country. The books under review are the two first volumes of the report drafted after completion of this survey. A third volume with a more detailed study of the seminaries, faculties, curricula, etc. is to appear later this year.

"The Ministry in Historical Perspectives", as the title suggests gives the whole survey its terms of reference in the past. The main goal of theological education being the training of ministers, it is essential to have a clear understanding of the various concepts of ministry as they existed, were formulated and developed in history. Nine scholarly essays cover a very large field—from the "Ministry in the Primitive Church" to the "Protestant Ministry in America". Although they include an excellent article on the "Ministry in the Later Patristic Period: 314-450" (by George H. Williams pp. 60-81) and a short paragraph in Dr. Hardy's presentation of the "Priestly Ministries in the Modern Church" (pp. 149-179) describes the Russian "starets" (p. 169), the main emphasis is put—and for reasons that one easily understands, on the historical developments in the West. This, however, does not minimize the interest of this book for an Orthodox reader, especially a priest. For an understanding of "Western

problems" is for the Orthodox, living in the West, a *conditio sine qua non* for any real progress of Orthodoxy itself.

As to the second book, in which Dr. Niebuhr reflects on the "aims of theological education", we cannot but express our hope that it will be read by as many Orthodox—priests and laymen—as possible. This is an illuminating and an inspiring analysis of the problems that face theological education today, considered in itself and also in its relation to the Church and to the World. Not that an Orthodox must necessarily make his own presuppositions, reflections and conclusions of Professor Niebuhr. To a great extent, both the situation described in the book, and the approach to it, are specifically Protestant (especially in the first chapter, "The Church and Its Purpose"). On some very important points, our whole way of thinking would be essentially different. Yet, what makes this book so valuable, and maybe especially for the Orthodox, is that in it, the whole question of theological education is clearly shown as an "unavoidable" one, presented in all its vital significance for the Church. And this is precisely what so many Orthodox seem to ignore. We are still at a stage when we discuss whether a graduate school of theology is needed or not! The ironic element here is that such a discussion takes place in the Church whose traditional emphasis is on doctrine, as expressed in the Fathers, Councils, etc. and on "Orthodoxy", i.e. on the *right doctrine* and the *right understanding* of it. In this situation, it is refreshing to read: "wherever and whenever there has been intense intellectual activity in the Church, a theological school has arisen, while institutions possessing the external appearance of such schools but devoid of reflective life have quickly revealed themselves as training establishments for the habituation of apprentices in the skills of a clerical trade rather than as theological schools" (p. 108). But then even if the principle of a theological school is admitted by more and more people today, how far we are from that "idea" or definition of it, which Dr. Niebuhr suggests:—"the intellectual center of Church's life" (p. 107). There is that unconscious denial of theology as a *sacred vocation* and calling, of theology for theology's sake, the lack of respect for its true nature, the understanding of it only in terms of the practical services it can render. Theology has to defend and to justify its right to existence. But Dr. Niebuhr comforts us at this point: "though anti-intellectualism within the Church and anti-ecclesiasticism among intelligentsia outside it will object to the close correlation of intellect and Church, their ill founded objections need not detain us. We content ourselves . . . with the reflections that to love God with the whole understanding has ever been accepted by the great Church . . . as part of its duty and privilege; and that there is no exercise of the intellect which is not an expression of love. If love is not directed toward God and neighbor, it is directed toward something else, perhaps even toward the intellect itself in the universal tendency toward narcissism" (p. 107).

The theological student, the future priest, this book reminds that theology "is a pure science, disinterested as all pure science is disinterested, seeking to put aside all extraneous, private and personal interests while it concentrates on its objects for their own sake only" (p. 109). *Disinterested*: too often the student considers his theological training as a kind of formal qualification for ordination. All his thoughts, while he is going through "credits" and "requirements" are already beyond the school, in the parish where he will show what a successful priest he is! He is inclined to look at all the courses and requirements from the point of view of their "utility" in his future ministry and to neglect those, in which there is no promise of a practical "success". Hence—the popularity of whatever is "practical", helpful in the skill of his future trade. He forgets that here, as in any aspect of Church life, it is only if the corn die that "it bringeth forth much fruit" (John 12:24). And to die means here to be *dis-*

interested, to feel, be it only once in a life time, the thirst and hunger for Truth and not for "success". "In my ministry", wrote a Protestant Pastor in an article on his studies at Union Seminary, "I am an administrator and an organizer . . . I did not learn these techniques at the Seminary. If Union had used precious time in my three years to teach me to do these things, I would have lost some of the far more important truths that were communicated by our passionate professors. I do not have to be an administrator, but I do have to be a minister. If the community demands activities of me that take me away from my study of the Bible and the communication of my faith in Christ . . . then I have to be a failure in the sight of the community. Henry Coffin was a top-notch administrator, organizer and counselor . . . but he was above all, an ambassador of Jesus Christ. I know he would never let the community dictate to him what role he should fill. Who is converting whom? Is the Church to convert society, or is society to convert the Church?" (J. W. Van Zanten in *Union Seminary Quarterly Review*, XII, 1956, p. 45). *Mutatis mutandis*, are not these words applicable to our own situation?

Finally, the book is of invaluable inspiration to those involved directly in the "edification" of the theological school, to those responsible for its life and its faithfulness to the purpose of its life. Dr. Niebuhr's analysis of the school as a community, a "colleagueship" in which "the movement of communication runs back and forth among the three—the teacher, the student and the common object" (p. 117), his reminder that "theological study is hazardous", his penetrating remarks on the curriculum and how many other aspects of theological education, all this makes the book an indispensable vademecum for all those who realize that theological education is the vital problem of the Church today.

—ALEXANDER SCHMEMANN

THE FATHERS OF THE EASTERN CHURCH

THE HOLY FIRE by Robert Payne, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1957

Biographical, historical, and theological data connected with the lives and the teachings of the great fathers of the Eastern Church are nicely and capably put together in this book. Although the Fathers are discussed mainly against their own backgrounds; they are, nevertheless, made alive and relevant for our own time. Those who lived in the periods of trials and tribulations may be our guide and help in the crisis through which we are passing. Robert Payne has love for these spiritual giants and his book will be read with a great profit by all those who are concerned with the formative period, the common background of the whole Christian development. There is a feeling throughout the book that the Fathers in dealing with issues and their solution, are not limited to their own time. The Fathers are marked, as the author puts it, with the wisdom of the ages. From them, we derive almost all our doctrines of the Church, "and we are their children whether we like it or not" (p. 294). Payne conveys the idea of grave difficulties in understanding Christianity without coming to terms with the Eastern Fathers.

Although there is presently an interest in the patristic period, the Fathers of the Eastern Church still seem to be remote and distant. They are not as familiar in the West as they once were. The Western Fathers depended upon their Eastern brothers, the author mentions St. Thomas Aquinas who once said he would give all Paris for a homily written by St. John Chrysostom. John Donne quoted them. Dionysius the

Areopagite had tremendous influence, not only in Western Theology, but also in the 14th century English poetry. But today, we can hardly say that the Eastern Fathers are near or dear to Western worshippers or readers. Perhaps, in the near future the situation will be considerably changed. We are witnessing the profound interest and first class research in the patristic period by the Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Orthodox Scholars.

"The Holy Fire" does not belong to the strictly scientific studies. It is a popular, warmly written, and very readable book. The author, it seems to us, fulfills an important task with his work; namely that of bringing us into the life and the thought of those who were participating in the faith of the Apostolic Church. This book acquaints us with the Alexandrian Fathers, the Cappadocians, St. John Chrysostom, Dionysius the Areopagite, St. John Damascene, and St. Gregory Palamas. Every chapter is equally interesting. Origen is pictured rightly, what we may call, as an essentialist theologian. His mind moves in a great system. He is accustomed to taking the whole of creation; he is not trained to think in terms of exceptions. St. Athanasius is represented as a man who was always cutting to the heart of a problem. The author shows very clearly that the controversy between *homoousios* and *homoiousios* is a matter of importance to all Christians, not only theologians; and that Athanasius with his vigorous defence of the Orthodox position altered the direction of history. The strength of the faith and character are given in a moving account concerning the efforts of the Emperor Valens and the perfect Modestus to force St. Basil to conform to the Arian heresy. "Do you know what I can do to you? . . . I can confiscate your possessions, banish you, torture you, put you to death?" Modestus roared. St. Basil quietly but firmly replied as follows: "Is that all? None of these things trouble me! You cannot confiscate my possessions, for I have none, unless you want to take the threadbare clothes I am wearing, and the few books in my library. Banishment—exile—what have these to do with me? Everywhere on God's earth I am at home! You cannot exile me from the grace of God, and wherever I am cast forth, there I am a stranger and a pilgrim. Torture cannot touch me, for I have no longer a body to torture . . . As for death, it is welcome to me, for it will bring me sooner into His blessed Presence, close to Him whom I serve . . ." (p. 129). The Fathers were afraid of no one, least of all afraid of the Emperors and their officials.

In Gregory of Nyssa who was the first to describe in some detail, the workings of the mystical consciousness and who with his mystical treatise *De Vita Moysis* influenced those greater mystics after him, the author sees something of St. Francis of Assisi. Both are contemplative and full of joy. Then he deals with St. Gregory Nazianzen who "changed nothing except the hearts of men", St. John Chrysostom who had the passion of a social reformer, the author of the *Summa Theologica* who was able to say "difficult things with fantastic ease" and finishes with St. Gregory Palamas and his doctrine of hesychia—quietness. All these fathers are "personal", only Dionysius the Areopagite remains "impersonal". Very little, almost nothing, is known about him. He is a man of contemplation, though he belonged to the period of the Christological controversies, he did not discuss them. He did not take sides.

In his description of the Father's teaching, Robert Payne realizes certain points shared by them all. Thus he calls the attention of their sense of sanctity indwelling in all things, their apophatic theology (on the incomprehensibility of God), and their stress upon the dignity of man. For St. Gregory of Palamas who celebrated man so highly and who had his roots in the Eastern Christianity, the author of *The Holy Fire* says the following, "No one, not even Pico della Mirandola . . . who wrote a *Very Elegant Speech on the Dignity of Man* celebrated man so highly. The phrase for which

Gregory Palamas was to become most famous was one of breath taking simplicity: "Man, by virtue of the honor of the body created in the likeness of God, is higher than the angels" (p. 278).

There are a few statements in this book which might convey the wrong impressions or confuse certain issues. The author states that in those early years Christianity and Hellenism went hand in hand (p. 46). It is true that some of the early Fathers looked at the Greek philosophy for support of their views; but it is also obvious that in the most fundamental and essential matters, there was a clash between Christianity and the culture of the late antiquity. The doctrines of Incarnation, Resurrection of the body, and the doctrine of Creation served as bulwarks against the Hellenistic concepts. In dealing with the speculations of Origen, the author implies that the theories of Plato are his philosophical background. This is a rather incomplete and wrong remark. Aristotle, Stoics, and the revived form of Pythagoreanism have their place in the formation of Origen's intellectual climate; however Middle Platonism, and not Plato or Neo-Platonism acted as a basis for his philosophical structure.

The author repeats his premise that through Dionysius the Areopagite, oriental mysticism entered the West. On the other hand, the author rightly emphasizes Dionysius' apophatic theology. It is difficult to reconcile the oriental mysticism with the apophaticism of this Christian mystic. In Dionysius' daring contemplation, man is not lost in the union with God.

Finally it is surprising that the author does not touch on the life or theology of St. Cyril of Alexandria. His name is not even to be found in the index.

The Holy Fire is the source of valuable information and insights into the lives of the Eastern Fathers. Those who are inside as well as those who are outside the Eastern Tradition will read this book with great profit.

—VESELIN KESICH

THE ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN CHURCH THROUGH THE AGES

THE ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN CHURCH THROUGH THE AGES; The Advanced Sunday School Series of Teen-agers by *Sophie Koulomzin*; Berwick Pa., Keystone Publishing Co., 1956, 239 pp. \$2.50.

Answering the urgent need for an advanced course of study for teen-agers in the Orthodox Catholic Sunday Schools, a highly informative "big-little" book made its appearance in the world after a long period of careful preparation and reviewing. The book was published under the auspices of the Metropolitan Council Sunday School Committee and the Metropolitan Council Publications Committee of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of America. This is a handy book, it is not a theological review or a text book for a theological seminary, but rather a church history course designed primarily for use in our Sunday schools by students of the high school age level. But it should not be limited for use in the Sunday Schools alone. Containing an abundance of historical religious information, the book makes valuable reading for all adults of the Orthodox Catholic Faith. No Orthodox home should be without a copy.

The book is divided into thirty-one lessons or chapters dealing with the pre-Christian era and the historical development of the Church down to our present times. Unlike so many books on the subject of Church history which begin with the inception of Christianity, this book opens with a background of the ancient world order and its pagan religions. This is followed by the Hebrews and their Messianic Old Testament

religion. An appropriate introduction sets up the stage for the coming of the Saviour and the establishment of the Church of Christ. The history of the Church down through the ages is presented as a living force, one of the good qualities of the book. It is not a dead book of recorded facts, the Church is presented as a living organism which experiences both glory and tragedy.

The reader will discover honesty in the book. There is no room for polemics. The author strives to present the essentials in an objective spirit. Each lesson is illustrated with a picture, map or diagram which adds interest to the book. Where needed, there are adequate but not cumbersome foot-notes. At the end of each lesson, there is a bibliography, questions, suggested classwork and readings. The book makes easy reading, thanks to the author's concern for a vocabulary and sentence structure which would appeal to the teen-age reader. Several school teachers were consulted in this regard and their assistance proved invaluable.

A good portion of the book deals with the great Fathers of the Church, and favorite Russian Saints. They are not treated as heroes of the past, but as living members of the Eternal Church. On page 84, there is a capsule-like digest of the Ecumenical Councils making it easy to understand the essentials of these councils. Page 128 contains an illustration of the Church of Jesus Christ. Christ is depicted as the source from whom flows a stream or course showing the divisions and innovation in Christendom. The Orthodox Church is shown to be the continuous and unbroken stream throughout the ages. Along each stream are numbered markers pointing out significant events as they occurred in Church history. The rise of the Papacy, the division of the Church and the Protestant Reformation are adequately presented. Although the author touches upon the history of all the National Orthodox Churches, she is most generous in dealing with the Russian Church. The Communist Revolution and its consequences on the life of the Church in Russia and the United States is not omitted. The last lesson of the book is devoted to the history of Orthodoxy in the United States. It was wise to include the information regarding the Unia, and the return of so many Uniats in the United States to the fold of Orthodoxy. This is important since too many Orthodox youth are ignorant of the movement created by Rome, and still alive, for the purpose of converting Orthodox Russian Christians.

I personally would have liked to see something more mentioned about the holy mountain—Mt. Athos—the citadel of Orthodox monasticism. The author might have shown its significance and contributions to Orthodoxy, and also its present-day situation. More could have been written on the subject of the crusades in order to impress upon the Orthodox student of Church history the tragedies suffered by the Orthodox East from the hands of the crusaders. Too often the history text books used in the public schools and authored by Western writers give only a glorious picture of the Crusades, while the true facts are concealed. No doubt more details could be added throughout the book, but if the reader absorbs all that is contained in this book, the book will have well served its purpose.

—PAUL SHAFRAN

THE CHURCH IN SOVIET RUSSIA

THE CHURCH IN SOVIET RUSSIA, by *Matthew Spinka*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1956.

Probably one of the most enigmatic phenomena of our times is the religious situation in the USSR. Numerous reports from the Soviet Union testify to an active and

vigorous church life in that country, ruled by a professedly godless government. After years of the severest and bloodiest persecutions which almost succeeded in the physical extermination of any vestiges of religion in a country of "victorious socialism", the Church not only survives, but even manages to prosper. Churches are filled to capacity with worshippers, new congregations are being formed, believers are streaming to ancient Russian shrines and there are ten active theological schools.

Some other aspects of ecclesiastic life in Russia today have also been manifested: intensive support by the church leaders of Soviet politics and their active participation in the communist dominated World Congress of the Partisans of Peace; their appeals to Christians all over the world blasting Wall Street war-mongers, capitalist sharks and the Vatican and upholding "the peaceful and just" Soviet policy. What a frightfully strange combination and what incompatibility!

Dr. Matthew Spinka, Waldo Professor of Church History at the Hartford Theological Seminary, is trying to explain this modern phenomenon in his new book, *THE CHURCH IN SOVIET RUSSIA* published in New York by the Oxford University Press.

Concise, with 154 pages of text, a valuable bibliography and two appendices, this book presents an exhaustive historico-analytical study of church-state relations in Soviet Russia, done by an expert on Russian Orthodoxy. The author has divided the period under consideration into three sections according to the number of occupants of the restored patriarchal throne, presenting the interaction of church with state at a high level of church and state governments.

Evaluating the personality and work of Patriarch Tikhon, Prof. Spinka gives a full account of the Patriarch's policy which changed from an outright opposition to the regime into "a-political" neutral relation to the state. At a time when the Church was torn by communist terror, civil war and the schism, he tried to attain a "modus vivendi" with the government in strict conformity with the legal and constitutional separation of Church and state. "His moderation and willingness to change his policy," observes Prof. Spinka, "testify to good sense and administrative ability, such as his chief opponent, the head-strong and obstinate Metropolitan Antony or his 'synodical' rivals did not possess," but he... "did not become subservient to the state as his successor were either forced, or voluntarily chose to be." (pg. 46) His death in 1925 was an irreparable loss to the Church.

Describing these early tragic pages of church history under Soviet rule, Prof. Spinka points to the harmful effect on the besieged church in Russia by irresponsible monarchistic declarations of some emigre ecclesiastical circles. "The Church, after all, is above politics, and must not make itself into a *last ditch stronghold of any political system*." (pg. 46)

Prof. Spinka, who in 1926 was in Russia, vividly describes the mounting governmental pressure aimed at "eradication of the best." That explains "why the church in the end succumbed to the submissive rule it has played ever since" (pg. 65). In these circumstances, Metropolitan Sergei regarded achieving legalization of the church in the Soviet State as his main task. His efforts culminated in the historic July 29, 1927 Declaration made soon after his release from prison. There he stated, "We wish to remain Orthodox and at the same time to recognize the Soviet Union as our civil fatherland whose joys and successes are our joys and successes and whose misfortunes are our misfortunes." Prof. Spinka believes that this Declaration "clearly shows the change of his position from that of strict separation of the ecclesiastical and the political spheres of activity," pursued by Patriarch Tikhon, "to one of complete co-operation with, and submission to, the government" (pg. 68). Furthermore, the author suggests there are evidences to assume that Stalin was secretly supporting and defending

Sergei's control over the church, and that those who did not share his conviction were dealt with by the GPU itself (75). Thus, it can be reasonably assumed that what Prof. Timasheff calls the "Great Retreat" in relation to ecclesiastical policy began, at least in Stalin's mind, in 1927 (pg. 80). Nevertheless, during the years 1929-35, the government was engaged in most determined efforts to "liquidate" all religious influences in Russian society (pg. 76). The actual change manifested itself openly only in 1936, when a certain Professor Ranovich, in an address before the Academy of Sciences and before the Central Committee of the Association of the Militant Atheists, found nice words for the early Christian church and for the conversion of Prince Vladimir and Kievan Russia (pg. 81).

But the real change of church-state relations began with the German attack on the Soviet Union and since that moment has been developing in rapid tempo. Prof. Spinka stresses the fact that the church administration not only supported the state in its patriotic struggle, but readily entered its political schemes, employing canonical condemnations and excommunications for political offenses and making political pronouncements in respect of the Allies. "The church thus ceased to be a church, and became an adjunct of the state. This is the tragedy of the Russian church and its leadership" (pg. 86).

The third and last part of the book, "Patriarch Alexei's Strange Alliance," deals with well-known facts. The church secured some benefits from the state, such as strengthening its administrative structure, establishing new congregations, opening theological schools, and limited publication of some printed material. But all these benefits were paid for in full to the "benevolent" government by Patriarch Sergei's successor. The church has become a mighty tool of Soviet Propaganda for internal and especially for external purposes. Prof. Spinka produces many political statements made by the Patriarch, and especially his deputy, Metropolitan Nikolai of Krutitsy at various ecclesiastical conferences and chiefly at the World Congress of the Partisans of Peace. In these statements, the West is denounced most unscrupulously and profoundly and Soviet power exalted most sycophantically and enthusiastically.

Prof. Spinka also discusses the energetic efforts of Patriarch Alexei to assume leadership among the Orthodox churches, thus fulfilling the old Russian dream of "Moscow, the Third Rome." These national-ecclesiastical aspirations "... religious nationalism, the besetting sin of all Orthodox nations..." (pg. 152), in this case coincide well with Soviet foreign politics.

In general, the analysis of Prof. Spinka is very sad and pessimistic, especially if we compare his book with an earlier and more optimistic study of the same problem by Paul B. Anderson.*

Nevertheless, he raised "the most difficult problem facing modern Christendom" of a church which has been lulled into the belief of the possibility of a "peaceful co-existence" and of preservation of its essential rights, while in reality it has been used as a tool for eliminating all religion from society (pg. 97) because the Soviet government and the Communist party did not change their basic anti-religious ideology.**

Prof Spinka's severe and critical appraisal of church leaders can be somewhat balanced in the words of Metropolitan Sergei (Voskresensky) of Vilno, written in Riga, in 1942, under the German occupation. Metropolitan Sergei (mentioned in Prof. Spinka's book on pg. 86), member of the Patriarchal locum tenens Holy Synod, was

* People, Church and State in Modern Russia, by Paul B. Anderson, New York, Macmillan, 1944.

** See the Russian Church and the Soviet State by John S. Curtiss, Boston, Little, Brown, 1953

appointed by his namesake Metropolitan Sergei (Starogorodsky) to the Baltic States after they were occupied by the Red Army in 1940. In 1944 he was murdered by some guerillas. Here is the quotation:

"To install as much as possible the destruction of the Church undertaken by the Bolsheviks was always the principal task of the Patriarchal Administration. The Patriarchal Administration has constantly strived to defend the dogmatic purity and the canonicity of Orthodoxy, to prevail over the schisms, to preserve canonically lawful succession of the higher church authority, to keep the canonically lawful place of the Russian Church among other autocephalous churches, and in this way to guide the church to the better future, when, after the downfall of Bolshevism, the Church will be able to rise. . ."

"Working in the Patriarchal Administration, we compared our situation with that of chickens in a coop, from which a cook snatches his daily victim — one today, another tomorrow, but not all at once. . ."*

We would like to add one more remark. The author has a tendency to make too close a comparison between the present Soviet government and the former Imperial regimes in their relation to the Church. The Church was subjected to the Imperial government, but it is difficult to compare the benevolent rule of God-fearing religious monarchs (having limited freedom), with a dictatorship of militantly atheistic communist leaders.

Prof. Spinka's book, although somewhat one-sided, is certainly a valuable study for those who are interested in the modern church life in the Soviet Union. The future will show those who were steadfast in these years of trial and those who were weak and those who will be the St. Paul, Joseph of Arimethea and Judas of Iscariot. We would like to reiterate the last optimistic words of the book: "... we must still trust that the religious faith of the Russian people shall ultimately prove victorious. There always will be a 'holy Russia'."

— DIMITRY GRIGORIEFF

* Plenionnaya Tserkov (The Captive Church) by Gleb Rar, Frankfurt, Possev, 1954 (in Russian).

SEMINARY NOTES

THE FACULTY: Rev. Alexander Schmemmann, Rev. P. W. Schneirla and Professor S. Verkhovsky have been appointed delegates of their respective jurisdictions to the North American Faith and Order Study Conference to be held at Oberlin, Ohio, September 3-10, 1957.

Rev. Paul Schneirla has accepted to serve as chaplain to the Eastern Orthodox students at Columbia University.

Prof. A. Bogolepov has completed a book on "The Church in U.S.S.R." to be published by the Institute of U.S.S.R. Affairs, Munich, Germany.

Prof. S. Verkhovsky has delivered a series of lectures on "The Orthodox Doctrine of Man" to the Society of Friends of St. Sergius Academy, N.Y.C.

During Lent, Fr. A. Schmemmann lectured and preached at the State Teachers College, Indiana, Pa. (Religion in Life Week), the Christian Association of the University of Pennsylvania, the O.C.F. at Columbia University, the F.R.O.C. sponsored Lenten Religious Meeting in Detroit, and at Lenten missions in Newark, Toronto, Montreal, Astoria, Flushing and New York.

This coming summer, Prof. N. Arseniev will be visiting Professor of Russian Religious History at the University of Bonn. Fr. A. Schmemmann will deliver a paper on the "Origin of the Liturgical Year" at St. Sergius Liturgical Conference, Paris, France. He has also received an invitation from the Orthodox Youth Movement in Syria and Lebanon to deliver a series of lectures in Beirut, Lebanon later this year.

THE STUDENTS: On March 24, Fr. Ilyas Kurban (Class of 1957) was ordained to the Priesthood by His Eminence, Metropolitan Antony.

During Lent, the Seminary Choir was invited to sing at the following parishes: St. Innocent (Pro-Cathedral, N.Y.C., Rev. J. Kreta); Holy Ghost, Bridgeport, Conn. (V. Rev. J. Kivko); Christ the Saviour, N.Y.C. (V. Rev. F. Mikhailoff); Three Hierarchs, Garfield, N.J. (V. Rev. J. Nebrebecki); Three Hierarchs, Ansonia, Conn. (V. Rev. J. Pishtey, Jr.); St. John the Baptist, Bridgeport, Conn. (Rev. J. Simko); SS. Peter and Paul, Meridan, Conn. (Rev. J. Mason); St. Vladimir, Trenton, N.J. (Rev. P. Shafran); SS. Peter and Paul, Jersey City, N.J. (V. Rev. J. Skvir); Holy Trinity, Yonkers, N.Y. (Rt. Rev. J. Pishtey).

THE LIBRARY: The Seminary Library received valuable donations from: The Chekhov Publishing House (the whole collection); the "New Review", Prof. M. M. Karpovich, editor — Russian books and periodicals; Mr. R. N. Goul — Russian books and periodicals; Mr. G. I. Novitsky, books and periodicals; The "R" Club of Madison, Ill.; Mr. G. Gladky. A long-range program of Library development has been accepted and is systematically carried out. This year, more than 1000 volumes have been added to the main theological departments, transforming the Library into a valuable instrument of study and research.

CONTRIBUTORS

The V. Rev. Vassily Zenkovsky, is Dean of St. Sergius Orthodox Academy in Paris and Professor of Philosophy. Former Professor of the University of Kiev. Author of the "History of Russian Philosophy", "The Russian Thinkers and Europe", "The Problem of Psychic Causality", "Problems of Education in the Light of Christian Anthropology", etc. Since 1927, Fr. Zenkovsky has been the Director of the Institute of Religious Education at St. Sergius.

Alexander Bogolepov is Professor of Canon Law at St. Vladimir's Seminary. Former Professor of the Universities of St. Petersburg and Berlin. Author of "Orthodox Hymns of Christmas Holy Week and Easter" and "The Canon Law of the Orthodox Church".

Dimitry Grigorieff, a former student of St. Vladimir's is currently completing his Ph.D. at the University of Pennsylvania. Former instructor in Russian at Yale University, University of California and the Army School of Languages, Monterey, California.

Veselin Kesich is Assistant Professor of New Testament at St. Vladimir's Seminary. He is Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius, American Branch.

Rev. Paul Shafran is an Instructor in Liturgical Practice at St. Vladimir's Seminary. He is a graduate of St. Vladimir's Seminary and serves as pastor of St. Vladimir's Church in Trenton, New Jersey.

Nicholas Arseniev is Professor of New Testament at St. Vladimir's Seminary and visiting Professor of the History of Russian Culture at the University of Montreal. Former Professor at the Orthodox Theological Faculty, University of Warsaw and the University of Konigsburg and the Universities of Moscow and Saratov. Author of "Mysticism and the Eastern Church", 1926, "We Beheld His Glory", 1927, "Holy Moscow", 1940 and many other books and articles.

V. Rev. Alexander Schmemann is Professor of Church History and Liturgics at St. Vladimir's Seminary. Former Lecturer in Church History at St. Sergius Theological Academy, Paris (1945-1951). Author of "The Historical Road of Eastern Orthodoxy" and "The Florentine Council of 1438".

ST. VLADIMIR'S ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AND ACADEMY

537 West 121st Street, New York 27, New York

St. Vladimir's Seminary and Academy is incorporated under the laws of the State of New York, as "an institution, in the field of higher education, for the theological training of candidates for the priesthood in the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of North America or any other branch of the Orthodox communion, to carry on research in Orthodox theology, church history and related subjects; to promote, by publications and lectures the knowledge of Orthodoxy among persons of other faiths; to grant certificates or diplomas to its graduates." A permanent (Absolute) Charter was granted by the Board of Regents for and on behalf of the Education Department of the State of New York on April 24, 1953.

The first aim of St. Vladimir's Seminary is to provide a higher education in Orthodoxy and its theology to candidates for the ministry of the Orthodox Catholic Church in the United States. At the same time it strives to be a center of research work in the field of Orthodox Catholic Theology, religious life, religious philosophy and culture, and to form a living link with the theological thought and research of the Orthodox Catholic Churches throughout the world and with the Christian Churches of the World.

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The Most Reverend Metropolitan Andrey, B.D.	<i>Homiletics</i>
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Professor Nicholas S. Arseniev, Ph.D.	<i>New Testament, Apologetics, History of Religion</i>
Professor Alexander A. Bogolepov, Ph.D.	<i>Canon Law, Russian, Slavonic</i>
The Very Rev. Alexander Schmemmann, B.D. ...	<i>Church History, Liturgical Theology</i>
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